[114 cont.]

436 kind of long strap made of fibers wound around two stout cords -- in part with two additional lighter central cords -- as a base. This strap is covered along its entire length with overlapping tile-shaped scales of pigeon feathers, and on the upper side of these

● [825] scales are pasted the delicate red feathers of Trichoglossus massena,

Fig. 43. Feather money (Berlin VI 16005, Joest Coll.). Total length 7.135 meters, width 4.2 cm., width of bark spirals 16 and 18 cm.

[223] a kind of parrot. The birds are caught with lime twigs deep in the bush, but before that the hunter may not eat anything hot or fat (4). The Berlin piece of money shows a rhombic black and

4. Codrington, loc. cit.

white plaiting in the middle of the underside, on the edges of which are two tufts of fibers. The ends show sewing with pieces of palm leaves and a plaited cord that comes to a point and ends in tufts of fibers and two strings. The latter are fastened to the two bark spirals on which the money is wound. Often [115] pieces of wood, carved in a variety of ways and decorated with Coix chains, are also fastened to the ends of the money. Instead

[237 778] of them there may be pigs' teeth or special stones that have a religious significance and are said to be more highly prized than money itself (1).

726 [139 cont.] The natives of Taumako, according to their own statements, use their large sea-going boats not only for purposes of trade, but also for distant expeditions of war, and that the inhabitants of the other islands are not averse to pursuing the profession of warfare by sea is shown by the huge number of arrows that they always carry along in their boats (6). In Vanikoro the members of the D'Urville expedition

6. Dalrymple, p. 127.

[728] witnessed the very promising beginning of a sea battle, which, however, was prematurely interrupted by the intervention of a chief (7).

7. D'Urville, pp. 172 f.

Society and the Family

614 The basis of social relations on Santa Cruz, as far as the main island is concerned, is a pronounced exogamous totemism. Joest learned the names of 12 totem groups (nau). Most of them [825] were of an animal nature: kuli = dog, mbo = pigeon, kio = chicken, furthermore betila = whale, natu = dolphin, mbua = shark, and three other [140] fish, mbu, mbilla, and niõda. In [824] addition there were the following plant totems: talao = papaya, maka, and kanalapiti. In connection with this, the system of [601] kinship terms is classificatory. No one is permitted to marry a member of his totem group, no one may eat his totem. In the case of plant totems, cutting them down is also forbidden. A person whose totem is the dog may not give a dog any of his food (1). The husband must also respect the totem of his wife (2).

1. Joest in Baessler, pp. 381, 386 f.

2. Joest, ibid., p. 383.

/157 cont./

302 out. Today /158/ all the men shave their hair at the temples and sometimes also above the forehead, so that the mop of hair covers only the back part of the head like a calotte (Fig. 1) /Fig. 1 appears here./

1. [For example, see also Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 95, left. Furthermore, cf. O'Ferrall, section "Headmen," with illustration; he confirms Joest's statement that sharks' teeth were used for shaving, or the hair was plucked out with two mussel shells which served as pincers. Both are also mentioned by Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 107, for the Reef Islands; here, as there, the shell pincers are probably used chiefly to pluck out the beard. Cf. ibid. also concerning coloring and bleaching the hair on the Reef Islands.]

[42] [105]

I did not see the crest of hair on the top of boys' heads, but it seems that it is still worn on the Reef Islands (2). On the

[Text continues, bottom of P. 12 -- Analyst]

2. Coombe, plate accompanying p. 211, lower picture. [Also the reference, p. 90, in Joest's Tagebuch seems to deal with the Reef Islands. With regard to Nitendi, he mentions, p. 49, only tufts above the forehead, which Graebner, Ethn., I, p. 76 (with footnote 1), misunderstands, but Baessler, Neue Südsee-Bilder /New South Seas' Pictures/, p. 377, quite correctly interprets. The only error

[113]

/160 cont./

301 out of one piece (Fig. 3, No. 2), similar in shape to the stick combs (5). Figure 2 shows how combs and hair darts are worn (6).

5. [From the Speiser Collection, the R.-J. Museum acquired such a wooden comb with four cyclic barbed hooks at the point (like a kind of arrow point): No. 30567.]

6. [See also O'Ferrall, illustration accompanying section "Headmen"; here one of the men is wearing a hair dart made of a piece of reed as it is used to comb the hair, especially before a dance (section "A Dancing Ground"). The illustration in Coombe, plate accompanying p. 202, shows what looks like a stick comb stuck in the hair from the back from the Reef island of Pileni. On Vanikoro there seem to be narrow bamboo combs -- recognizable by their convexity -- or strips of bamboo used as hair sticks (Coombe, plate accompanying p. 170).]

[412] [535]

301 /161/
●825 Very attractive feather ornaments are found in the form of hair
[535] darts as head adornment for dancing. They are either flat sticks about 30 centimeters long, on which are pasted the red feathers that are used for feather money (Fig. 3, No. 3), often interrupted by bands of white feathers, or they are peculiarly shaped little boards, also with red feathers pasted on /Fig. 4 appears here/ and further decorated with little pig's tails and strings (Figure 3,
301 No. 4). [The tuft of feathers shown in Ethn., I, p. 76, Fig. 4, No. 4, does not come from the Santa Cruz Islands, but from

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 19--ANALYST]

/161 cont./

301
[114]

basis of other circumstances, such as Joest's journals and other well-defined collections, can it be determined what belongs to it. Dr. Speiser did not see the two ornamental tufts on Nitendi; his New Hebrides collection contains feather ornaments from western Malekula, which are in many respects related.]

[824] On the other hand, a prickly yellow-leafed shrub (mini) is popular as a hair ornament (2).

2. [O'Ferrall, section "Mat Making" (= Coombe, plate accompanying p. 183).]

[824] [825] Snail shells (cf. Fig. 2) and tufts of vegetable fiber (3) are often

3. Cf. Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 95, right.]

knotted into the hair.]

302 292 [Sometimes a wide piece of patterned or unpatterned bark cloth is wound around the hair, which usually forms a kind of cylindrical hat (Fig. 4) (4). For trips by sail there are also

4. [Dillon has already reported this custom on Nitendi (cf. Ethn., I, pp. 86 f.); the headpiece mentioned in the same work, p. 76, and illustrated in Edge-Partington and Heape, also belongs in the same category, even though it was supposed to consist of leaf material (cf. Dillon). See also F. de Tolna, Chez les Cannibales,

[113]

/162 cont./

301 perhaps it is a nostril or ear ornament. Incidentally, Jennings, JAI, XXVIII, p. 165, mentions tortoise-shell rings in the nostrils, as on Vanikoro (Ethn., I, p. 86).]

are inserted into the pierced nostril at an upward angle of about 45 degrees (4).

4. [Speiser, op. cit., p. 295, and Ill. 95.]

531]

Fig. 5. Ear cylinder of bamboo with incised ornamentation (Ba V 1814); 8 cm. long.

[825]

[Fig. 6.] Earring of Trochus shell with tortoise shell pendant (R.-J.-M. 30560a, Speiser Coll., gift of the Museum Society); 6 cm. in diameter.

[304] [The holes in the ear lobes are gradually stretched by the insertion of increasingly large plugs (5).] Besides tortoise-shell

5. [O'Ferrall, section "Headmen"; Coombe, p. 176. Likewise on Vanikoro where leaf spirals serve the same purpose (cf. Ethn., I, p. 86). The latter seem to be worn by boys on Nukapu to produce holes on the upper rim of the ear, in Coombe, plate accompanying p. 211, lower picture.]

/163 cont./

301

small boy standing in the center). The peculiar tortoise-shell pendant also occurs on ear-chains (for example, Ethn., I, p. 77, Fig. 5, No. 1, but is not visible in the illustration).]

2. [Jennings (JAI, XXVIII, p. 164) says, however, that ornaments of mussell shell and tortoise shell are worn only by men.]

[562]
[825]

on Nitendi the ones in Ethn., I, p. 77, Fig. 5, Nos. 1 and 2) (3),

3. [The way these ear-chains are put together is probably not quite right; they more often form a short, thick pendant.]

and on the Reef Islands the ones in Fig. 5, No. 3 (4).

4. [See the women of the Reef Islands in Speiser, Südsee, Ill. 94. They also wear the chain pendant, however (cf. the original photographs in Ethn., I, p. 84, Fig. 15, and, on determining the origin, p. 10, footnote 2; Coombe, plate accompanying p. 211, upper picture, from Nukapu; see also Coote in Ethn., I, p. 85, footnote 4). As far as the illustrations show, the peculiar ear ornament, Ethn., I, p. 77, Fig. 5, No. 3, is always worn directly in the ear (cf., for example, Speiser, op. cit., Ill. 91). To be sure, the specimens

/163 cont./

301

where the pendant of the chain hangs down the back; Utupua, Ethn., I, p. 93, Fig. 22; Vanikoro, Ethn., I, p. 86 and Coombe, pl. accompanying p. 170). -- For another type of hip-cord with the shell disks gradually becoming smaller toward the ends, see Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 166, No. 6.]

/164/ [In isolated instances there are necklaces made of twisted strips of bast with the ends hanging down (cf. Fig. 2).
[824] A necklace made of black fruit-disks has been documented for Taumako, one of the Duff Islands (cf. Fig. 7) (1). /Fig. 7 appears here./

1. [Concerning a neck cord with amulets, see below, p. 121.]

It appears that the breastplate of Tridacna [Ethn., I, p. 80, Fig. 8] (2) may be worn only after clothing has been donned;

2. [Sometimes the string that holds it
●[825] is decorated on the front side with cowrie-like snail shells; see, for example, Edge-Partington and Heape, I, 162, No. 1, and an old, magnificent specimen in the Städtischen Museum in Brunswick.]

at least I never saw a boy adorned with one (3). In general,

3. [Coombe, p. 175, like Markham,
[554] says that the breastplate is a symbol of rank.]

wearing the plate seems to be on the decline, for only a few men put them on, and then they were usually simple plates without

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Fig. 8.

Fig. 9

Fig. 10.

Fig. 8. Armband of sea snails (Ba V 1840); c. 1/5 natural size.

Fig. 9. Pair of armbands, worn in the dance (Ba V 1841), consisting of plaited string, snail shells, and tufts of yellow-colored fiber; c. 1/4 natural size.

[Fig. 10.] Ankle ornament of shell disks (R.-J.-M. 30564, Speiser Coll., gift of the Museum Society); 1/2 natural size.

/173 cont./
and fishing implements are hung. From the roof dangle the bones and skulls of pigs, fish, and turtles, reminders of important festivities (5).] In one or two corners of the house there is a light,

5. [O'Ferrall, section "A 'Club House.'" Coombe, pp. 187 f. The description of how the bamboo poles are set up differs.

low enclosure with a half-height /174/ entrance. These are the sleeping areas for the prostitutes, who live entirely with the men and are the only women permitted to enter the men's house. The floor of the house, which [is strewn with beach pebbles (1) and] is

1. [O'Ferrall, section "A Club House"; Coombe, p. 187.]

covered with plaited mats [made of fronds of the coconut palm (2)]

2. [O'Ferrall, section "Mat Making"; Coombe, p. 187.]

is kept scrupulously clean (3).

3. [Before entering the men's house, the feet are cleaned by rubbing them against stones and by stamping up and down (Coombe, p. 187).]

All the men's houses stand on stone bases (4), and the

4. [O'Ferrall, section "A Club House"; Coombe, p. 187. For the Reef Islands, see Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 106. Steps lead up to the doors: Speiser, Südsee, p. 293.]

2: Speiser--63 E-4,5 (1912) 1916 ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

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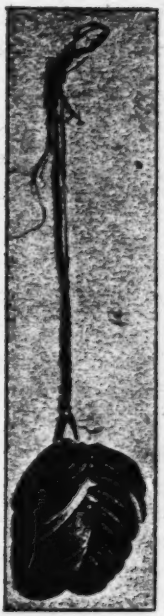

Fig. 21. Fig. 22.

Fig. 21. A bunch of sea shells (Ba V 1858), used for scraping coconut; ca. 1/6 natural size.

Fig. 22. Tortoise-shell knife for cutting puddings (Ba V 1854); 32 1/2 cm. long.

226 /186 cont./

3. [O'Ferrall, section "Matema" = Coombe, pp. 197 f.]

[825] On Nitendi the first needlefish / Belone belone/ caught with the kite are sometimes used as bait and then the others that inquisitively come swimming up are caught with hand nets (4). The hand net also serves for catching the fish that

4. [Coombe, p. 173.]

[227]

Fig. 29. Sink-net (Ba V 1958); ca. 1/4 natural size.

have been trapped in the weirs (5).]

5. [Speiser, Südsee, p. 298.]

[227] The kites for catching fish are very simply made out of leaves and a wooden frame tied and fastened together. The kite string is at the same time the fishing line and is said to be five fathoms long from the kite. /187/ At the end of it is the bait, consisting of a ball of spider webs (1).

/188 cont./

226 ["In the coral along the shore one often sees bowl-shaped depressions in which plants are pounded, the juice of which is used to poison the fish in the fissures of the coral reefs" (4).]

4. [Speiser, Südsee, p. 297.]

225 [On the Reef Islands dolphins and turtles are encircled by boats and driven onto shore. The one who leaps into the water and turns the turtle upside down is entitled to the thickest [301] portion of the shell, which is used for making nose rings; the [825] other parts of the turtle are distributed by the chief (5).]

5. [Girieud and Herrenschmidt, p. 106.]

224 Pigs are often caught in nets (Basel V 1996), which are knotted out of strong ropes of coconut fiber. The nets are set up where the pigs usually pass and the animals are driven into them (6).

6. [Speiser, Südsee, p. 297.]

223 [In catching birds -- namely, those with the red feathers [836] that are made into money-rolls -- /189/ the hunter covers him- [825] self with leaves and imitates the bird's call in order to lure his victim onto the lime-twig (1).]

1. [O'Ferrall, section "Historical Sketch" (= Coombe, p. 189). See also below, p. 87, footnote 3. -- O'Ferrall (= Coombe, p. 187) also mentions the bird arrows shown in Ethn., I, p. 101.]

3:Davenport E-6 (1958-1960)1962
C013 Santa Cruz C013

[p95(B)]

436 One of the most exotic kinds of money in the world today is a belt two inches wide and 30 feet long made of glue, fibers and feathers, particularly the downy red feathers [237] plucked from the breast, head and back [825] of a tropical forest bird. The red-feather currency of the Santa Cruz Islands of the southwest Pacific nonetheless fits the most rigorous definition of [556] the term "money." It serves as a means of accumulating wealth and as a universal medium of exchange in the highly diversified commerce that flows among these islands. The currency itself is fully interchangeable, each belt having a precisely negotiable value in terms of other [177] belts. Against the recent invasion of the Australian pound, moreover, the red-[583] feather money has kept its integrity. It is still the only acceptable specie for the purchase of brides, fine pigs and certain forms of labor.

121 436 This improbable currency demonstrates that the use of money is not an economic sophistication limited to high civilizations. Many, but by no means all, primitive peoples have devised moneys of their own. Although the forms of the currencies are as diverse as any of man's inventions—running the gamut of animal, vegetable and mineral matter in the live, raw and processed states—the maintenance of these so-called primitive monetary systems requires the balancing of the same equation of supply and demand that confronts the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve System.

435 436 121 If a currency is to serve as a common denominator of value, its value in turn must be carefully regulated. This is one of the most delicate operations in the management of a modern state. It involves adjustment of the demand for as well as supply of money, achieved by control over both the flow and the production of the currency. To a certain ex-

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

436 463 plies the red color of the money. The second makes individual platelets of pigeon feathers and decorates each with a band of the red down. The third assembles the platelets by binding them on two cords to form a belt.

223 [825] The bird on which the entire system depends is a small scarlet-colored honey eater (*Myzomela cardinalis*) of the rain forest. The bird snarer makes portable perches covered with the sticky latex of a forest tree and fastens at the top of each either a live decoy of the species or a flower that the honey eater likes. Hanging a number of these perches in adjacent trees, he shields himself behind a blind of betel palm leaves and attracts birds into the area by chirping with a whistle made from a tree bud. Investigating the flower or the decoy, the honey eaters approach the sticky perch and are caught by their wings or feet. The bird snarer plucks the red down from the birds' breasts, heads and backs. He does not deliberately kill them in the process, but they usually die as a result. [804] In the half-shell of a coconut he packs tightly the down of 10 birds, and this is the basic unit in which he deals.

[287] The platelet maker usually secures his

[497(c)]

3:Davenport E-5 (1958-1960)1962
ON13 Santa Cruz ON13

287 own pigeon feathers, shooting the gray
[223] Pacific pigeon (*Ducula pacifica*) with
[825] bow and arrow. With a mucilage made
[381] from the sap of the paper mulberry
[824] (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), he glues the
[804] feathers together into the flexible platelet. The flat surface of a wooden platen, usually about 2¼ by 1¼ inches, serves as a gauge for fashioning each platelet in the proper size. Using the same glue, the craftsman tacks a half-inch band of red down from the honey eaters along one edge of the gray platelet. A piece of currency requires about 1,500 platelets,
[436] overlapped like shingles to expose only the band of red feathers. Since one 10-bird packet of down is enough for 50 platelets, about 300 honey eaters are required for a standard piece of new currency.

The platelets are passed on to the currency binder, who collects and prepares the other necessary materials:
[824] long-staple fibers from the bark of a rain-
[237] forest tree (*Gnetum gnemon*), colored seeds for decoration and pieces of turtle shell. He stretches two three-ply fiber cords from a large stump to a springy sapling set in the ground about five feet away, and he spaces the cords about

[897(D)]

458 177 quantity of Australian money within the Santa Cruz group has caused a precipitate fall in its value in terms of local [435] goods. Once a shilling bought 10 pounds of native tobacco; now it buys half a pound. During the same period, in an [438] effort to increase copra production by channeling more islanders into plantation work, the colonial administration [648] has taken steps that tend to depress interisland and intervillage trade in domestic products. Less feather currency is needed and less is being produced. [287] At the moment there are only five men on Santa Cruz who bind currency, whereas a decade ago there were more [583] than a dozen. Yet marriages go on as before, and men still refuse to marry off their daughters without receiving the traditional red-feather payment. Indeed, there is no area of the islands' economy in which confidence in the feather currency has been shaken. The [465] craft and agricultural specialists still demand red-feather money for their best products.

With the value of feather currency rising as it becomes scarcer and that of Australian money dropping as it becomes more abundant, the market [436] price of feather currency in Australian pounds has increased nearly 20 times in the past 15 years. Although it is recognized that 25 Australian pounds is the appropriate par value for a new piece of feather money, it takes considerably more than that to induce the currency specialists to turn one out. This is, to [223] be sure, not true in the case of the bird [825] snarers. As a result of the decreased production of feather money, the *Myzomela cardinalis* population has been increasing; the snarers can take birds more easily and in more accessible places and they would be willing to work for the [287] old rates. But the labor involved in making platelets and binding new currency has not diminished. Like skilled artisans anywhere, the specialists in these processes prefer to charge more and work less. In pricing their labor they are mindful not only of today's high market but also of the fact that the value of their product in Australian money is likely to be even greater as time passes. As a result the production of feather currency has now fallen behind even the currently reduced demand. As the "bad" Australian money drives out the "good" red-feather currency in accordance with Gresham's law, a simple society in the South Seas is experiencing a monetary crisis familiar to many more sophisticated economies.

dant sandy areas where coconuts can be grown to feed them; taro production with a special type of soil; and types of arboriculture with rainfall zones and forestry cover.

As implied by this individual and regional specialization, there is a complex system of trade through which these products are distributed. But this trade is far more than a means of conveying products of one area to another. It is a system in which all those who participate do so with the intention of making a profit. It is real commerce, and the wealth amassed in this way is expended in bride prices, maturation feasts, rituals, and entertainments through which the initiators and organizers derive prestige. In the familiar Melanesian pattern, prestige, wealth, and authority are but three aspects of the same thing, namely, the political system.

While goods of many kinds flow in several directions, there are some goods which move only in specific directions, and which are basic to the entire system. One of these is feather currency, in terms of which all transactions are made. This is an all-purpose currency, and it is made only on Santa Cruz Island. Its manufacture demands the combined skills of three different hereditary specialists. The currency itself is a belt, six fathoms long, about two inches wide, and made of feathers, fiber, and cord. The feathers are the red down from the breast, head, and back of a small honeysucker *(Myzomela cardinalis)*. Catching these birds in the forest and plucking the down from them is one of the specialties. The second specialty consists of pasting the red down onto platelets or shingles made of ordinary wood pigeon *(Columba* sp.) feathers with the sticky sap taken from the fruit of the paper mulberry *(Broussonetia papyrifera)*. The third specialist binds these shingles onto a cord foundation to make the finished belt. A piece of finished currency has one surface of red down and an undersurface which shows only the binding. The feathered surface, made up of overlapping shingles, sometimes resembles the flexible scutes of a snake.

Feather currency is perishable, for it gets damaged and worn with use and by the ravages of vermin, molds, and mildews. As it gets worn and damaged, it decreases in value and eventually becomes worthless. Thus, new currency must be fed into the system to replace that which is worn out and discarded. Feather currency is of absolutely no other use than as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, and as a means of storing wealth. It cannot be worn, it is not displayed, and it cannot be converted into any other usable form. From this it can be seen that it has all the properties of true money, yet it circulates as a commodity in a free market without regulation except for those forces created by supply and demand. Unlike our money, which we distinguish from commodities, feather currency has some of the properties of durable goods whose value depreciates over time. The original value of a piece of currency is determined by its size and the richness of its color when new. These criteria are reducible to the number of birds used and the amount of labor required for its construction. For an average piece today, about three hundred birds are necessary. The total labor required by all three specialties is roughly ten to eleven work weeks or about five hundred to six hundred and fifty man-hours. Depreciation of the currency is measured also by two criteria: the amount of red down worn off through handling and defects caused by insects and tropical growths. When the last bit of red disappears from the top surface, the currency becomes valueless and is thrown away.

In addition to the value as determined by the four criteria just mentioned, every piece of currency has its rarity value. This rarity value is always negotiated separately when currencies are exchanged, that is, when one piece is changed for two or more of lower value. The rarity value is an expression of how badly the purchaser of a highly valued piece wants it, and this, of course, is determined by its scarcity. It is a fact that the